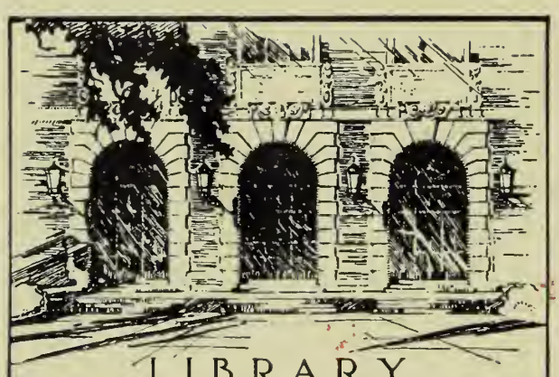

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BULLETIN OF THE UNIVERSITY OF UTAH

Volume 34 January 19, 1944 No. 11

Nationalism and World Peace

BY

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Eighth Annual Reynolds Lecture

January 19, 1944

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH

Salt Lake City, Utah

THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
UNIVERSITY OF UTAH
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Foreword

One of the basic causes of the present world crisis is the application in Europe and Asia since 1919 of an extremely intense and highly exaggerated form of nationalism, a phenomenon most radically expressed today in the totalitarian philosophies of German Nazism and Italian Fascism. But the roots of modern nationalism extend back to Sixteenth Century Europe, although the application of the European state system centering around the theory and practice of Balance of Power Politics which developed because of it becomes most pronounced after the period of the French Revolution at the dawn of the Nineteenth Century. In the Twentieth Century it was the creation of the Balanced Alliance System through the organization of the Triple Entente in 1907 as a counter-balance to the Triple Alliance formed in 1882, which made World War I inevitable. This much is clear, the old system of Balance of Power Politics as a means of preserving peace has failed. A New Nationalism based upon the principles of collective security and international co-operation in matters affecting the security and well being of all nations must supersede the old nationalism which instead of effecting peace has succeeded only in plunging the world into a state of international armed anarchy.

This essay attempts to trace the historical evolution of modern nationalism and to explain its more evident characteristics and manifestations. A concluding section is devoted to an analysis of a few of the factors which the writer believes to be essential for the winning of a just and durable peace.

Leland Hargrave Creer

January, 1944
University of Utah

Nationalism and World Peace

The Historical Evolution of Nationalism

The Japanese bombs which wrought so much havoc among our armed forces at Pearl Harbor shattered much more than the immediate objectives which they hit. They shattered the illusion, then held so widely, of our invulnerability, and of our ability to rest in safety behind our own ramparts if we chose not to interpose abroad. They shattered the possibility, diminished but still existent, that the United States might live the war out in a relatively normal way and return to relatively normal peace conditions. They shattered a timidity of attitude toward world affairs entertained at least in part by a goodly portion of our citizenry and brought us sharply up against the harsh realities of the world situation. More important still, they immediately focused the attention of our thinking public upon the problems of peace, a peace that we are determined must guarantee the security of nations through the elimination of war. This has led, in turn, to a thorough re-examination of the causes of the present holocaust, the most devastating of its kind in history, for only through the elimination of the causes of war can any durable peace be expected to be maintained.

Nationalism Defined. The fundamental cause of the present world crisis, commonly called the Second World War, is the application in Europe and Asia after 1919 of an extremely intense and highly exaggerated form of nationalism. In its normal sense, nationalism may be defined as that feeling or consciousness which pervades any groups of people, and which expresses itself in a desire to share a common future, after having shared a common past,—a desire to preserve certain traditions, customs and institutions, and to develop a common culture. But unfortunately, nationalism as applied in Europe since 1870, has come to mean something entirely different. In its more modern sense, it has come to mean patriotism applied unreservedly to the state and in its exaggerated form, it might be termed national state egotisms.[1] As such, it has fostered savage racial passions and repulsive national arrogance among all classes. Let us examine this phenomenon (1) historically; and (2) analytically.

Nationalism During the French Revolution and the Metternich Era. While national unity as we understand it today arose first in England, France and Spain during the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, it was the French Revolution in the Eighteenth which, more than any other event, aroused the masses of Europe to a consciousness of their respective nationalities. Although

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[1] Says Hayes: "Modern nationalism proclaims a two-fold doctrine: (1) that each nationality should constitute a united, independent soverign state; and (2) that every national state should expect and require not only an exclusive patriotism, but also unshakable faith in its surpassing excellence over all other nationalities and lofty pride in its peculiarities and destiny." Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism,* 26.

centering in France this remarkable revolution spread far beyond its borders and long after the fall of Napoleon its principles were passionately expressed in every country in Europe. The deputies of of the Estates General met at Paris in May, 1789, to reform France, but they did much more. They proclaimed the popular doctrines of liberty, equality and fraternity and sought though unsuccessfully to introduce them into the state systems of their continental neighbors. On Sept. 21, 1792, the deputies proclaimed the French Republic, and a new national France was born. But not satisfied with internal reform, republican France became militant and aggressive. After driving out the Germans and Austrians, who had espoused the cause of royalism, the Convention on Nov. 19, 1792, declared the French nation ready to undertake a crusade in behalf of the liberation of all enslaved people of Europe. Thus it happened that the national impulse in France which up to 1791 had promised to link all free peoples in a friendly federation, soon degenerated into a warlike and aggressive impulse, "the parent of rapine abroad and of Caesarism in France itself." [2]

Against the grandiose ideas of Napoleon, nationality in Europe asserted itself. "As France was stung into full self-consciousness in 1792 by the Brunswick Manifesto," says Gooch, "so Prussian patriotism was kindled into flame by the battle of Jena." [3] Stein emancipated the peasants and granted self government to the municipalities; Hardenburg introduced social reforms for the free peasantry; Scharnhorst decreed compulsory military service and trained the army which was later to overthrow Napoleon at Leipzig; William von Humboldt founded the University of Berlin. Not only the statesmen, but the poets and philosophers give their services in the cause of nationalism. Schiller wrote his immortal William Tell in 1804, and Fichte, in 1807, in his "Address to the German Nation," proclaimed in unmistakable clearness the doctrine of modern German nationalism envisaged in present day totalitarianism.

Napoleon's invasion of Spain produced a passionate, if crude reaction by the Spaniards. When Charles VI shamefully signed the Treaty of Bayonne, resigning his right and that of his son, Ferdinand, to the throne and the French troops occupied Madrid, the Spanish nation rose en masse and the capitulation of 20,000 French troops at Baylen taught Spain that Napoleon was neither invincible nor unconquerable. "In vain did Charles and Ferdinand advise submission to the usurper; in vain did the Junta inculcate the duty of obeying the new ruler; in vain did the Inquisition preach the same degrading course. The people rejected the counsels of authority, religion, experience, and reform. With an impulse which was both furious and sustained, both local and universal, they rushed at the French forces and reduced them suddenly to the defensive." [4] The uprising was dramatic, spectacular, brilliant. Victory after victory followed and in the end Napoleon had to withdraw from the penin-

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[2] Rose, *Nationality in Modern Europe*, 33.

[3] Gooch, *Nationalism*, 11.

[4] Rose, *op. cit.*, 60.

sula. Out of this revolution, the torch of emancipation was kindled in the New World and within two decades the republics of Latin America were born.

Despite the efforts of Metternich and the Congressional System, the surging spirit of nationalism, born of the Revolution, was not extinguished. On the contrary, it grew in intensity, expressing itself throughout Europe in the revolutions of 1820, 1830, and 1848, and culminated in the unification of Germany and of Italy in 1870 and in the dismemberment of Austria and Turkey in 1919.

When the diplomats remade the map of Europe in 1815, they ignored completely the principle of nationalism. Thus they united Protestant Holland with Catholic Belgium; arbitrarily detached Norway from Denmark and added it to Sweden; refused to restore Poland; carved Italy into a number of petty states; and ignored the demand of a united Germany. Not only that but the ruling princes formed the arbitrary Holy and Quadruple Alliances to stifle national self-determination and to rid Europe of Napoleonic influences. But their efforts failed. The reactionary Charles X was driven from the throne of France in 1830; Belgium freed itself from its unpopular union with the Dutch in the same revolution; Greece won its independence from Turkey in 1831, and at the same time Serbia was granted autonomy. In 1848, the Hungarians, influenced by the patriotic utterances of Szechenyi, Kossuth, and Deak, made a notable though unsuccessful bid for independence; Metternich was forced to flee in disguise to England; Francis Joseph was forced to grant liberal reforms in Austria; and the Second but shortlived Republic of France under Louis Napoleon was established.

Mazzini and the Unification of Italy. One of the most colorful applications of nationalism in Nineteenth Century Europe was the unification of Italy, achieved in 1870. It was accomplished largely through the efforts of the patriots Mazzini, Garibaldi, Cavour, and Victor Emmanuel. All nationalists agreed that the one great objective necessary to unification was the expulsion of Austria and Spain from the peninsula but they disagreed as to the means of accomplishing the task. Among the patriots were three parties: (1) those who desired the supremacy of the Pope; (2) those who championed the House of Savory; and (3) those who desired the end of both the monarchy and the temporal power of the Papacy in order to form a republic. Cavour championed the second party; Mazzini was the fiery leader of the third.

The aim of Mazzini was not realized. The Italian republic was never created. Italy became united through the process of absorption by Piedmont. Thanks to the brilliant diplomacy of Cavour, the Austrians were expelled from Lombardy in 1861, Venetia was annexed in 1866 and the city of Rome was occupied by Italian troops in 1870. In the meantime, the picturesque Garibaldi with his Ten Thousand Red Shirts had driven the Spaniards out of the Neopolitan Kingdom of Sicily.

Yet despite the failure of Mazzini's plan of unification, the influence of this fiery patriot had been tremendous for it was the faith

and enthusiasm which he kindled among the masses that made possible the realization of the schemes of the more practical minded Cavour. More important, still, were his advanced ideas on internationalism, ideas which today coincide so markedly with the trend of thinking with regard to post-war peace proposals.

Mazzini interpreted nationality as a spiritual concept, with humanity, not the state as the ultimate goal. "Nationality," he wrote, "is sacred to me because I see in it the instrument of labor for the well being and purposes of all men. Countries are the workshops of humanity. A nation's life is not her own but a force and a function in the universal scheme of providence." [5]

The end of society, he said, was not the state, but humanity. The latter he defined as an "association of nationalities, the alliance of the peoples in order to work out their missions in peace and love; the organization of free and equal peoples that should advance without hindrance or impediment towards the progressive development of one line of the thought of God." [6] Thus, far in advance of his age, Mazzini saw visions of a united federation of Europe. To him, the ruling principle of international law should be not "to secure the weakness of others, but rather the amelioration of all through the work of all: the progress of each for the benefit of others." [7] And again: "A nation's growth depends on the trust that other people place in it." [8] "No country," he said, "may be isolated economically or intellectually; and it is a poor and counterfeit patriotism that despises other countries." [9] But the ideas of Mazzini were far too advanced to be grasped by an age in which nationalism of the old order was still triumphant, an age featured by selfish aggrandizement and ruthless exploitation of subject peoples, of dynastic rivalries and international armed anarchy. His great contribution to society thus lay dormant. Its ultimate realization is the hope of the future.

Bismarck and the Unification of Germany. The unification of Germany was the great work of Otto von Bismarck. Called into the chancellorship by William I of Prussia in 1862, he openly announced his policy when he said on one occasion: "Not by speeches and majority votes are the great questions of the day decided, that was the great blunder of 1848—but by blood and iron."

Adhering strictly to this philosophy, Bismarck succeeded by 1871 in welding together the German states into a consolidated German Empire. His program was accomplished through four steps: (1) the creation of a strong standing army in Prussia, illegally through executive decree; (2) the seizure of the provinces of Schleswig and Holstein from Denmark in 1864, in a war which provoked a quarrel with Austria; (3) the resultant war with Austria in 1866 which led to the expulsion of that state from the German Confederation; and (4) the Franco-Prussian War which led to the incorpora-

[5] Gooch, *op. cit.*, 47.

[6] *Writings of Joseph Mazzini*, III, 13, 14.

[7] *Ibid.*, III, 27.

[8] Gooch, *opt. cit.*, 49.

[9] King, *Mazzini*, 303.

tion of the South German states and the important provinces of Alsace-Lorraine into the German Empire.

The German Empire thus created by Bismarck was a thoroughly Prussianized state founded upon militaristic principles. These principles were popularized by the brilliant Treitschke. In Machiaevellian style, this popular historian in 1870 composed his "Ode to the Black Eagle," the best war song of the day; and in the following year began his celebrated "History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century," a voluminous treatise which proclaimed in unmeasured tones the doctrine that the "State is Force." With Treitschke, nationalism meant national vanity, racial subordination, armed militarism, for like Hitler he defended conquest on the sole basis of racial superiority. He identified the state with the nation to both of which he ascribed power as their most important attribute. Treitschke, perhaps more than any other writer of the Nineteenth Century popularized the false notion of nationalism, the nationalism which prevailed in Europe after 1870,—a pernicious doctrine of state selfishness, based upon false pride and offensive egotism.

A few years after the completion of German unification, the Christian nationalities of the Balkan peninsula, with the aid of Russia, freed themselves from Turkish bondage. Thus by the Treaty of Berlin (1878) the independence of Serbia, Roumania and Montenegro was confirmed, and autonomy granted to the provinces of Bosnia, Herzogovinia, Eastern Roumelia and Bulgaria, the latter under Russian protection.

Nationalism and World War I. Bismarck succeeded in maintaining peace among the major powers of Europe during his chancellorship of the German Empire, 1871-1890. This was accomplished first, by avoiding any direct conflict with England in colonial matters; and second, by isolating France through the organization of a series of ententes and alliances, which included in one equation or another the states of Germany, Austria, Russia and Roumania under German leadership. After the fall of Bismarck in 1890, however, Russia, already estranged to the breaking point with Austria over Balkan affairs deserted the German-alliance system and joined France in a defensive alliance against Germany and Austria. In the meantime, England, determined to end her policy of splendid isolation, after unsuccessfully seeking an alliance with Germany in the late '90's, concluded the Entente Cordiale with France in 1904 and the Russian Agreement with Russia in 1907. This combined friendly accord between France, Russia and England became known as the Triple Entente. Thus after 1907, the Triple Entente (France, England and Russia) stood arrayed against the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria and Italy). This balanced alliance system, thus effected, accelerated rather than deterred the outbreak of a general European war, because the several powers took refuge in the false assumption of guaranteed security in their respective alliances and because the major issue of conflict,—Teutonic-Slavic rivalry in the Balkans, now became an issue of conflict between the two organized alliances, thus involving at once the six major powers of Europe. The system also had the

effect of accelerating the offensive operation of the weaker members of the alliances, in this case—Austria and Russia. Thus, as Dickinson says, after 1907, because of the balanced alliance system, the powers had unwittingly created a condition of international anarchy which practically made a general European war inevitable.[10]

The implication of nationalism as a basic factor in the origin of the First Great World War, which in one sense might be termed the continuation of Teutonic-Slavic rivalry over the Balkans,—for the Germans the continuation of their Drang-nach-Osten policy in the Near East, envisioned in the Berlin-to-Bagdad Railroad Project; for the Russians, the prosecution of Pan-Slavism among the Slavic peoples in the Balkans, in the interests primarily of guarding her Strait interests;—is well illustrated in the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand at Serajevo on June 28, 1914, by the Serbian fanatic, Princip. This act was the expression of rabid nationalism on the part of Serbia, determined to establish an enlarged Serbian state with an Adriatic seaport but foiled in the attempt by the annexation of Bosnia and Herzogovinia by Austria in 1908 and in the creation of Albania in 1913. Austria-Hungary, on the other hand, realized that the success of the Serbian nationalists might lead to similar nationalistic agitations by its many racial minorities within the boundaries of its own empire and hence to certain disintegration. Franz Ferdinand was especially marked for assassination by the Serbian fanatical Black Hand, a terrorist organization, because of his known conversion to the doctrine of Trialism. The application of this doctrine would have blocked the Serbian nationalists through the inclusion of Bosnia and Herzogovinia into a new Slavic autonomous state to be known as Slovenia, thus creating the tripartite German-Magyar-Slavic Kingdom of Austria-Hungary-Slovenia.

The Great World War (1914-1918) completed the process of state building along national lines by dismembering the four great non-national empires of Russia, Austria, Germany and Turkey. The defeat of Germany led to the re-cession of Alsace-Lorraine to France, the recovery of Schleswig by Denmark and the loss of the greater part of Posen to Poland. From the Russian Empire has arisen the new republics of Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuiania, Poland, Ukraine and Georgia. Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Hungary and the northern portion of Jugo-Slavia constitute the old Austria-Hungarian Kingdom. Galicia was added to Poland and Transylvania was returned to Roumania. Finally, the defeat of Turkey has resulted in the creation of such autonomous states as Hedjaz, Iraq, Palestine, Syria and Arabia under British and French mandates and in the founding of the Armenian Republic of Erivan. From the British Empire since 1919 have also arisen the independent states of Egypt and Ireland. Although the Hitleristic conquests since 1939 have blotted out many of these states and others including Austria, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Roumania, Jugo-Slavia, Greece, Luxemburg, Belgium, Holland, Poland, France, Norway, Denmark, Latvia, Esthonia, Lithuiania, and Ukraine, it is anticipated, and recent

[10] See Dickinson, *International Anarchy*, passim.

events confirm this expectation, that such conquests are temporary and that in the main the boundaries of post-war Europe will be drawn essentially along the lines of those of the Europe of 1919.

Nationalism and Nazi Germany. Since 1919, nationalism in Europe, particularly in Germany, France and Italy, has become more intense and emotional in its application than ever before. In Germany, under the guise of Hitlerism, it has degenerated into what might appropriately be termed racial hysteria. Germany, on the defensive, is seeking not only to recover lost economic and political security, but also through indoctrination, to create a new nationalism which aims at nothing short of world domination. This new phenomenon, called Hitlerism or Nazism is a crusading religion which expresses itself in such rabidly emotionalized practices as totalitarianism, anti-Catholicism, pro-Nordicism, Jewish pogroms, a disregard for all the provisions of the Versailles Treaty and in fact every other inconvenient post-war treaty; the demand for the return of former colonies and possessions, particularly such areas as Polish Posen and Alsace-Lorraine; the annexation of such German speaking areas as Austria, Czecho-Slovakia and Holland; the addition of other regions of strategic importance,—such as Belgium, Hungary and Denmark; and the economic domination of the Ukraine and the East Balkans.

"What Germany is aiming at is not the restoration of the Frontiers of 1914", says Rauschning, "but a 'total revision', a completely different order, or in Goebbels' candid phrase a, 'redistribution of the world'. The aim is the hierarchal organization of the nations of Europe around Germany with 'protectorates and alliances', of various types; the weakening of Great Britain and the destruction of her empire; the setting up of a colonial empire in Africa; thrusts against South America and the Pacific; and in the end, world dominion".[11]

The above program is confirmed by reference to Hitler's own book, *Mein Kampf*. Commenting on the character of the German state, he says: "The Reich, as a state, should include all Germans, not only with the task of collecting from the people the most valuable stocks of racially primal elements and of pursuing them, but also to lead them gradually and safely to a dominating position."[12] And, note the following: "The political testament of the German nation for its dealings with the outside world should and must always read substantially: 'Never tolerate the establishment of two continental powers in Europe. See an attack on Germany in such attempt to organize military power on the frontiers of Germany, be it only in the form of the creation of a State capable of becoming a military power, and in that case, regard it not only as a right, but as a duty, to prevent the establishment

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[11] See Rauschning, *Decline of the West,* passim; this phase of Nazism is also presented graphically in Ziff, *The Coming Battle of Germany and* Dorpalen, *The World of General Haushofer.*

[12] *Mein Kampf,* 601.

of such a state by all means, including the application of armed force, or in the event that such a one be already founded, to repress it' ".[13]

With reference to the question of the folkish state, it should be noted that in Nazi philosophy, the superiority of the Germans over all other nations is accepted as a religious tenet. Nazi doctrine teaches that races like men are created unequal and that humanity progresses through a strife of races. Now since the German Volk, according to this doctrine, is the purest and only creative race, it naturally has the biological and moral right, it is argued, to rule the world. The Poles and the Jews are the pariahs of the New Order. A German ordinance of 1939 provides that every Polish man or woman between fourteen and sixty is subject to forced labor either in Germany or in Poland (Jewish boys are liable at twelve). A legal order of the German police from the district of Torun, dated October 27, 1938, contains the following regulations: "Polish men and women must step off the sidewalk before German uniforms; Polish men must take off their hats before them; and Polish women who 'speak to or insult' any German national 'are to be sent to brothels' "! As for the general quality of German civil servants in Poland, the Nazi have coined a new word, "Polendiensttauglich" (fit only for service in Poland), for fractious Reich citizens guilty of repeated misdemeanors.

"The New Order in Europe presents itself as a caste system in politics, a feudal system in economics", runs a recent editorial on this subject. "The common function of all non-German peoples will be to serve Germany in various capacities from the lowest menial labor to higher skilled work. In official Nazi terminology they will be Hilfsvolker (Helping people) to be German Herrenvolk(Master people). The Germans themselves will be graded by zeal and achievement, and the final goal is to breed a master elite within the master race, a nobility of German supermen to rule Germany and the rest of the world".[14]

Pan-Germanists for decades have been preaching the doctrine of racial superiority. As early as 1903, Ludwig Wohlmann declared that the "German race is called upon to dominate the earth, to exploit nature's treasures and the physical strength of man, to make the passive races simple, subaltern organisms for the evolution of its culture".[15] Hitler refers to the Germans as Herrenvolk; to other peoples as Herdenvolk. A single letter suffices in the German language to create this insuperable gap between the master and the slave. In *Mein Kampf*, one meets with the expression "en-Jewed",[16] and "negroid",[17] with reference to the French. Hitler follows the philosophy of the German biologist, Houston Stewart Chamberlain,

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[13] *Ibid.*, 963-964. For similar passages see pages 3, 44, 181, 935, 944-945, 947, 950, 966, 606, 613, 614-615.

[14] Europe, How Germany Rules It, *Fortune Magazine*, Feb., 1941.

[15] Quoted in Leon Marchal, *Vichy*, 48; also see Ludwig Reimer, *Ein Pangermanisches Deutschland* (1905), passim.

[16] *Mein Kampf*, 704.

[17] *Ibid.*, 730.

who accepts as undeniable the moral superiority of the Aryan and declares, therefore, that if "Humanity is not to decline morally, it must hope for the victory of the Aryan over lesser peoples". "The Jews", says Chamberlain, "are neither a race nor a people. They are a unique example of a purely parasitic product of decay".[18] Hitler, himself, says: "For myself and all true National Socialists there is only one doctrine: people and country. What we have to fight for is the security of the existence and the increase of our race and our people, the nourishment of its children and the preservation of the purity of the blood, the freedom and independence of the fatherland in order to enable our people to mature for the fulfillment of the mission which the Creator of the universe has allotted also to them."[19]

This ambitious program of world conquest and racial subordination was begun immediately by Hitler after his ascension to power in 1933 and until checked by the British and the Russians threatened dangerously to become realized. In 1933, the Fuhrer, set aside the Weimar Constitution and established a dictatorship; in the same year, he caused the German delegation to leave the World Disarmament Conference then assembled at Geneva and a few months later announced the withdrawal of Germany from the League of Nations; in 1935, he began the systematic Germanization of Memel, Danzig and the Saar; in 1936, he remilitarized the left bank of the Rhine and took control of the Rhine, Elbe, Kiel, Oder and Danube rivers, —all this, mark, in complete disregard of the Versailles Treaty; in the same year, he concluded an anti-Communist Pact with Japan, and a year later (1937) organized the Rome-Berlin Axis, directed against England and France; in 1938, he annexed Austria and Czecho-Slovakia; and in September, 1939, ruthlessly invaded Poland. an atrocity which brought England and France into the war. During the crucial year 1940, the Fuhrer forced the French to surrender, occupied with startling rapidity Belgium, Holland, Denmark and Norway and then began his dramatic attempt to invade England. It was the failure of this last effort which prompted the dictator to conclude a military alliance with Japan (October, 1940), with the hope of diverting American attention from Europe to the Orient. In June, 1941, Hitler in order to allay public opinion which had become incensed because of the collapse of the British blitzkrieg, made the fatal mistake of plunging his armies into Russia. During the year 1941, the Germans successfully occupied Greece, Jugo-Slavia, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuiania, and the Ukraine. Thus within the space of three years, the German juggernaut had blotted out the independence of Poland, Austria, Holland, Czecho-Slovakia, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Greece, Jugo-Slavia, Latvia, Esthonia, Lithuiania and most of France; dismembered Roumania; and subjected the British Isles to the most inhuman air raid in history.

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[18] *Ibid.*, 413-414.

[19] *Mein Kampf*, 288-289. See also pages 396, 579-581, 608-609, 618, 636-637. Important among the many anti-Semitic reference in *Mein Kampf*, are those found on pages 83-84, 115-116, 416, 448-449, 644-65 and especially 826-827.

Nationalism and Fascist Italy. Fascism in Italy like Nazi-ism in Germany represents the application of the philosophy of totalitarianism—that is the absorption of the entire loyalties of the citizenry in the interests of the State. As applied politically and economically this has meant complete elimination of political liberties, the partial loss of economic freedom, the application of the principle of regimentation in the economy of the State and the establishment of a dictatorship.[20] Internally, Fascism through Mussolini, has sought the continued evolution of the economic program begun during the last two decades of the Nineteenth Century but arrested because of the World War. Of the 42,000,000 Italians in Italy, overwhelmingly the largest proportion are agriculturists; the country is only 10% industrial. Italy lacks raw materials: it has no rubber, tin, nickel, tungsten, mica, or chromium and little coal; it is dependent upon imports from abroad for 99% of its cotton, 80% of its iron and steel, 99% of its copper. Despite Mussolini's "battle of the grain," Italy does not produce enough food for its own requirements; it must import 15% of its meat and 20% of its grain. Finally, except Japan, Italy has the longest exposed coastline of any country in the world. Italy, like her Axis partners, Germany and Japan, is striving to become economically independent and to accomplish this, she needs new colonies, markets where she might acquire economic necessities. Her meagre possessions in East Africa,—Eritrea, Italian Somaliland and Tripoli have all proved inadequate. Then again, Italy's unique position in the Mediterranean, requires hegemony over the Adriatic Sea and the west Balkan Coast. Fascism in the Italian peninsula, therefore, in its external aspects, seeks the establishment of a Mediterranean Empire, through the annexation of Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, Ethiopia, Egypt and possibly Syria and with spheres of influence over Albania, Jugo-Slavia, Greece and Spain. Strictly an opportunist power, Italy entered the war as an ally of Germany in 1940, but only after it appeared certain that the blitzkrieg successes of the German juggernaut on the continent might clear the way for the realization of the Italian dream of empire, through a joint German-Italian attack upon England. But the grandiose schemes of Mussolini and his Fascist accomplices have been disastrously thwarted. The role of Italy in the present crisis has been a sorry one. In 1940, her armies were disastrously defeated by a smaller but vastly superior Greek contingent;—in 1941, she lost Eritrea and Somaliland; in 1942, she was driven out of Libya; and in 1943 her own Sicilian homeland was invaded by British and American armies. This last catastrophe produced a political revolution which led to the forced abdication of Mussolini on July 25, 1943, and in the elevation of Pietro Badoglio, an ardent anti-Fascist, to the premiership. On September 3, the Allies crossed the Straits of Messina and occupied the Italian mainland, an event which led a week later to the unconditional surrender of the Italian armies. This startling incident was

[20] Mussolini came into power on October 28, 1922, as a direct result of a series of costly strikes which threatened to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is said that more than 35,000,000 working days had been lost because of labor unrest during the years 1919-1921 alone.

followed on October 13 by a formal declaration of war by the Italian Government against Germany. This, in turn, led to the immediate recognition by the Allies of Italy as a co-belligerent for the continued prosecution of the war against the common Nazi foe.

Nationalism and Modern Japan. The application of the exaggerated, belligerent, and highly emotionalized nationalism, typified in Europe after 1919 by German Nazism and Italian Fascism, is best represented in the Far East by the rise and development of Japanese imperialism. The aim of the foreign policy of Japan during the Twentieth Century has been the establishment of Japanese hegemony in what is commonly termed the "Greater New Eastern Asia," a program which has envisaged the economic conquest of China, the elimination of foreign influence in the Pacific area and the outright annexation of strategic islands in the South Pacific, the Malay Peninsula and the Dutch East Indies. The degree to which this program has been realized is indicated in the fact that since the attack on Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941, the extent of the Japanese Empire has increased from slightly less than 800,000 square miles (including Manchukuo) to more than 3,250,000 square miles and in population from 130,000,000 to almost 300,000,000.

The projection of this ambitious program has been made possible by the leadership of the so-called "Kwangtung Clique" brilliant corp d'elite of the Japanese Army, which for years has controlled the Japanese government. Such oligarchic control is not surprising in a state whose Emperor is accorded the attributes of divinity, for as one commentator says: "Hirohito is a Supreme Being, a God incarnate, the Son of Heaven, the head of the Sun Family, and the sum total of divinity in a race that considers itself divine."[21] Such a God Emperor and such a chosen people, it is argued, must acquire a place in the sun. Hence maneuvering behind the army and sometimes on its flank, is the official Japanese foreign policy. In 1938, Premier Prince Konoye was concocting a New Order in East Asia, based upon a Japanese-Manchukuo-Chinese bloc; in 1940, the crafty Matsuoka, Foreign Minister, proclaimed that this new bloc was only the nucleus of a "Great East Asia common prosperity," including French Indo-China, the Netherlands Indies and "other regions." In a little while this "co-prosperity sphere," reached out for all Oceania which takes in Australia, Polynesia and Malaya. "I believe that the white race must cede Oceania to the Asiatics," said the wily minister. But Matsuoka did not stop there, for he boasted: "We Japanese have a heaven-sent right to settle some part of the United States, climatically healthful and enjoyable." On another occasion, the Foreign Minister declared: "I fling this challenge to America: if she in her contentment is going to blindly and stubbornly stick to the status quo in the Pacific, then we will fight America. For it would be better to perish than to maintain the status quo." Six months before Pearl Harbor, Hoshio Mitsunoga, director of the Nippon Press Association, suggested that the United States could "prevent a crisis if it

[21] See *Fortune Magazine*, February, 1942.

abandoned its fortifications at Pearl Harbor, Guam and the Midway Islands, gave up its support to Chiang-Kaishek and restored trade to normalcy."

Recognizing the danger of this religio-military fanaticism a recent commentator concludes: "To defeat such a people it will not be enough to sink their battleships, shoot down their airplanes and bomb their cities. One by one there must be broken the cult of violence, the cult of inevitableness, the cult of the God Emperor, which since six centuries before Christ have held the Japanese common man and aristocrat alike in thrall. The world can never again be free from ambush unless the Imperial throne is rooted out, and with it destroyed the sinister phenomenon of a people without a conception of their own slavery."[22]

The economic implications of Japanese imperialism are noted from the following facts. Japan is deficient in raw products. She has had to import 80% of her total in twenty-five of her strategic materials, among them iron and oil. Exclusive of her recent enlarged empire, Japan produced only about 100,000 tons of copper annually and before the war required double that amount. She produced 35,000 tons of aluminum in 1940, equivalent to only one month's production in the United States and Canada. In steel, Japan's position is inferior to that of all other great powers, except perhaps Italy. Economists claim that Japan has had to import 73% of its iron ore, 50% of its scrap and 23% of its pig iron. But for a decade at least Japan has been building up stocks in the above deficiencies to prepare for war emergency. From the United States, alone, during the period, 1930-1940, she obtained 70.2% of her metal machinery, 91% of her imported scrap iron and 66.2% of her imported oil. Altogether, the United States furnished 56.8% (in value) of all war goods shipped to Japan during this decade; the British Empire, 22.1% and the Dutch East Indies, 8.3%. Now with Europe at war and blockaded, with growing tariffs and freezing restrictions on Japanese trade, with successive United States' embargoes on aircraft, aviation gasoline and lubricants, aluminum, tools, iron and steel scrap, copper, zinc, and finally oil, Japan could not count on outside resources anymore and thus felt it necessary to fight the war she had envisaged for a decade, the conquest of Asia's treasure house, the Dutch East Indies."[23]

The evolution of Japanese imperialism has been effected through the complications and involvements of her rivals in the Pacific. As a result of the Chinese War and the resultant Treaty of Shimonoseki

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[22] *Fortune Magazine*, February, 1942.

[23] From southeastern Asia (Indo-China, Thailand, Burma, Malaya, the Philippines and the Dutch East Indies), comes virtually all the world's supply of rubber nearly three-fourths of the tin, and more rice and oil than Japan can consume. In the Dutch East Indies, there is gold, iron, bauxite and all the known quinine. Java Borneo and Sumatra are dotted with 2785 oil wells producing about 60,000,000 barrels of oil a year, more than necessary for the Pacific war. By comparison Germany gets around one-third less from Roumanian wells. Consult *Fortune Magazine*, Feb., 1942; see also Abend, *Japan Unmasked;* and Emmerson, *The Netherlands Indies and The United States.*

(1895), Japan acquired Formosa and the Pescadores Islands and forced China to acknowledge the independence of Korea. In 1906, she checked Russian aggression in the Far East and by the Treaty of Portsmouth acquired Port Arthur, southern Saghalin and the old Russian concessions in Chinese Manchuria, treaty rights which later formed the basis for her aggression in this area. By the Taft-Katsura (1905) and the Root-Takihara (1908) Agreements, she obtained American acquiescence to her policy of economic penetration in Korea and Manchuria in return for a tacit recognition on her part of American interests in the Philippines. In 1910 she annexed Korea. In 1915, by taking advantage of the World War, she imposed her onerous Twenty-one Demands upon hapless China and occupied German Kaio-Chow in the Shantung Peninsula. Four years later, in 1919, she acquired as a result of this war, the Pacific insular possessions of Germany north of the equator. Then in 1931, on September 8, she violated the Four Power Treaty, the Nine Power Treaty and the Briand-Kellogg Peace Pact by occupying the provinces of Jehol and Manchukuo in Manchuria, and despite the opposition of the League of Nations and the American Department of State, succeeded in converting these areas into a Japanese puppet state. In 1934, Japan officially withdrew from the League, a year later she repudiated her obligations under the Washington and London Disarmaments Conferences, and in 1937, taking advantage of the European crisis, plunged into her undeclared war with China. In the autumn of 1940, the Japanese government joined the Berlin-Rome Axis and immediately thereafter began a series of aggressions particularly in Burma, Indo-China and Thailand, which ended dramatically in the attack on Pearl Harbor, Decemer 7, 1941, an event which brought the United States into the present war. Following this attack, the Japanese in quick succession occupied Indo-China, Thailand, the Philippines, Malaya, Burma, the Dutch East Indies and several islands of the South Pacific.

Characteristics and Manifestations of Modern Nationalism

Nationalism and Historiography. Having thus traced the rise and development of nationalism, it remains to examine that phenomenon in relation to the European state system which has arisen because of it. Much good has resulted from nationalism. Its explosive force has torn unjust treaties to shreds and shattered despotic empires. Then, too, it has kept alive the doctrine of national self-determination.

Let us turn first to the effects of nationalism upon history writing. In Germany, the quickening of the national consciousness at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, was attended by the projection of the magnificient collection of Teutonic sources known as the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* under the direction of the brilliant statesman, Stein. In France, Petitot began to publish his great collection in 1829 and four years later Guizot, subsidized by the government through the Societe de l'Histoire de France, brought forth the first volume of the indispensable *Documentes Inedites*. In Belgium,

similarly, the *Chronique Belges Inedites* appeared in 1836 and in England the Rolls Series began to appear in 1858.[24]

The trend of recent historiography, however, has been decidedly nationalistic. There has arisen in every country a school of patriotic historians, prominent among whom may be mentioned Hanotaux, Thierry, Michelet, Guizot and Feustel de Coulages in France; Droysen and Treitschke in Germany; Macaulay, Green, Froude and Seeley in England; George Bancroft, Sparks, Fiske, Parkman, McMaster and Schouler in the United States; Lafuente in Spain; Palasky in Bohemia; and Pirenne in Belgium. Unfortunately, many of the histories of these popular writers are biased, for as Professor Stephens says: "The historian is influenced by the prevailing spirit of his age and he feeds the spirit of national intolerance in days gone by. . . . Hymns of hate are the inevitable result of national patriotism based upon national histories."[25]

Nationalism and the Doctrine of State Exaltation. Since 1870, nationalism has become in many countries a cult of "sacred egotism," a sentiment of state exaltation and as such it has been vigorously propagated in many of the national and state school systems of Europe and America. "Elementary readers are often packed with nationalistic poems, with ultra-patriotic legends, and with tales of mythical and always exemplary deeds of ancestral national demigods. . . . From the study of civics, pupils are sometimes led to believe that their country is the freest, the most liberty loving, the most progressive, the best governed and the happiest on earth."[26] Historians have tended to exaggerate the role of their countrymen, to the disparagement of the foreigner. "However excellent patriotism may be in itself," says Stephens, "it has some startling effects when based upon nationalistic histories. . . . Americans are taught from childhood to hate Britishers by the study of American history. Germans were taught to hate Frenchmen from the study of German history."[27] Since 1919, the French Government through the schools, the churches, the army, the navy, the radio, the press, and various national societies has sought to inculcate a deep-rooted, exclusive nationalism among its citizenry. "No country in the world," says Hayes, "has a more highly centralized and autocratic system of national education than France."[28] An examination of the content of the forty lessons in reading prescribed by the Government in 1923

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[24] During the latter part of the Nineteenth Century and the first decade of the Twentieth, Mommsen compiled his monumental *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Boekh, his *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarium;* and Renan, his *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarium*.

[25] Henry Morse Stephens, "Nationality and History," *American Historical Review*, XXI, 236.

[26] Hayes, *op. cit.*, 88.

[27] Stephens, *op. cit.*, 236.

[28] Hayes, *France—A Nation of Patriots*, 36; see also Siegfried, *A Study in Nationality*, passim.

for the primary grades reveals only three bearing on non-French heroes and only nine on exponents of the works of peace."[29]

In modern Germany, one finds through Hitlerism the most extreme example of national indoctrination. Lessons in National Socialist ideology began to supplant the regular courses in history and indoctrination in Aryan superiority at every instance was openly and vigorously pursued. Today, there can be no doubt that race hatred is being systematically instilled into the young Germans. An interesting comment by the editors of *Mein Kampf* describes the situation thus: "The regular school books are bad enough but the official supplementary readings are often still more violent. An excellent example of these is *Der Gilpitz* (The Poisonous Mushroom), a collection of seventeen stories with illustrations. All the tales are pointed up with the inevitable moral that the Jew is the 'poisonous mushroom' of the civilized world."[30] The campaign to legislate Catholic schools out of existence by inducing parents to vote for community schools began soon after Hitler's rise to power. Few of the voters were in a position to withstand party pressure and today no such schools exist. In 1937, the Nazi authorities began to deprive the clergy of the right to teach in schools. Today the Church has lost practically every educational advantage. It is estimated that more than 10,000 teaching nuns have been removed from teaching positions. Lay instructors in large numbers have been forced out. The Reich has deliberately attempted to eradicate the intelligentsia of the occupied countries, particularly in Czecho-Slovakia and Poland. The Polish universities of Warsaw, Poznan, Cracow and Lublin have been closed and their teaching staffs put into concentration camps. All Czechish universities, including the one at Prague, founded in 1348 and older than any German university, are locked up. In Austria the old private schools, many of them world renowned, have been closed by decree. At present, religious instruction in Germany has practically degenerated into the exposition of anti-Semitic racial doctrine, apotheosis of the Fuhrer, and "studies in the virtues of the Aryan soul."[31] National history is taught exclusively in the spirit of *Mein Kampf*.

Nationalism and Defined National Interests. Once national unity and independence have been obtained, nationalities often prosecute defined interests abroad. These are chiefly economic. Sometimes such concessions are acquired peaceably; more often they come as a result of force. For example, the Teutonic Drang nach Osten Policy led to the economic penetration by Germany in the Near East during the first decades of the Twentieth Century. This policy, summed up in the Berlin-to-Bagdad Railroad Project, was based on military and trade concessions which aimed at the complete domination, in the interests of a Greater Germany, of Central

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[29] Hayes, *France—A Nation of Patriots,* 40-41. The three non-French heroes are Columbus, Franklin and David Livingstone.

[30] *Mein Kampf,* 641-642.

[31] See *Mein Kampf,* 644-645.

Europe and Nearer Asia to the Persian Gulf. It was in the interest of that control which prompted Germany to stand squarely behind her ally Austria when the latter annexed Bosnia and Herzogovinia in 1908 and again in 1914 when the Austrian Ultimatum, precipitating the World War, was delivered to Serbia. A more striking example is the application of this policy in the Far East. In 1897, two German Catholic missionaries were murdered in the province of Shantung. The German Emperor immediately demanded satisfaction. As a result, Germany secured a ninety-nine year lease of the fine harbor of Kaio-Chow and extensive commercial and financial concessions in the province of Shantung, and this, be it noted, in satisfaction of the murder of two Catholic priests, despite the fact that Bismarck had only recently concluded the Kulturkampf with the Catholic Church at home. The sudden and unexpected interest of the Kaiser in befriending two hated Catholic priests abroad was entirely subordinate to his greater interest in securing important economic privileges in Asia. But not to be outdone, the British demanded and received from China (1898) a lease of the harbor of Wei-hai-wei and France in the same year secured a similar lease of Kwang-chow-wan, a valuable bay on the mainland opposite the island of Hainan. The prize concessions, however, went to Russia,—the right to carry her Trans-Siberian railway across Chinese Manchuria to Vladivostock and the lease (1898) of Port Arthur and the neighboring harbor of Talien-wan. Thus international European rivalry in pursuit of defined national interests abroad led to the economic penetration of Asia and the despoliation of hapless China.

The demand for virgin fields where raw materials and new trading markets might be obtained has resulted in the systematic exploitation by Europe of the non-European world, and while much good has resulted from such exploitation, the entire program of economic imperialism has tremendously intensified nationalistic rivalries. Once economic penetration has been secured and certain "spheres of influence" have been obtained, nations have sought to protect their own nationals in backward states by wresting from such states special concessions and favors of a political nature in the form of "capitulations" or "rights of extra-territoriality". Under these forms citizens of a civilized national state obtain a highly privileged position in the territories of a backward state; they may reside and travel wherever they wish; they may freely engage in commerce; they are exempt from local laws and local judgment and subject only to the jurisdiction of ambassador, consul or other official representative of their own national state; in fine, they constitute an *imperium in imperio*—an alien group independent of the country in which they dwell. Undoubtedly such concessions have enhanced the national rights and enlarged the "spheres of influence" of forceful states, but they have also antagonized the backward peoples and as a result stimulated such peoples to develop a nationalism of their own. Thus Turkey under the brilliant Mustapha Kemel Pasha, in a series of national wars freed herself from foreign capitulations through the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) and the Chinese did the same in 1943.

Nationalism and Irredentism. One other manifestation of he problem of national interests deserves mention. They frequently ollide with the principles of national self-determination and compli- ate irredentist problems which in turn often involve war. For xample, Italian national interests have required hegemony over he Adriatic and so Austria-Hungary in 1918 was denied seaports nd most of Istria was ceded to Italy. Today in the same region, ugo-Slavia desires Fiume, the only good seaport in Slovenia, but or identical reasons the Italians have seen to it that the Slavs o not get it. Most famous of all irredenta is Alsace-Lorraine, de- red by both France and Germany because of its iron and coal eposits. It was the forced cession of these provinces to Germany 1871 that developed within France a vigorous "revanche" nation- lism which led to a circuitous but nonetheless certain trend of de- elopments pointing directly to Serajevo and the First World War. he need of a Polish seaport led to the creation of the internationally ntrolled German city of Danzig, and this despite the fact that e vexed Polish Corridor which developed as a result of it was most certain to bring about a clash between the Germans and the bles.

Nationalism and Economic Imperialism. The rise of modern ntionalism, as one might expect, has not meant the end of imperial- m. True, certain far-flung empires, including the Holy Roman, Na- pleonic, Ottoman, Russian, and Austrian have collapsed before the pact of nationalistic wars of self-determination and irredentism. evertheless, imperialism is still with us but it is a different kind of perialism from that which Europe knew before 1870. It is chiefly conomic in character. The Industrial Revolution of the middle neteenth Century created a demand on the part of manufacturers r augmented supplies of raw materials and for vitally extended de markets where manufactured commodities could be disposed o Moreover, the tremendous increase in manufacturing and trans- rtation led to accumulations of capital which sought investments n foreign lands. Now since most of the raw materials were obtain- a e in industrially backward countries and since those regions a o offered, peculiarly, promising markets for the sale of manufac- ed goods and for the investment of capital, such highly industrial- zd states as Germany, France, England, Italy, Japan and the ited States not only have levied protective tariffs and granted eral subsidies in behalf of infant industries but have also estab- ished close commercial relations with backward peoples and econ- ic "spheres of influence" among them. In some instances outright nexations have resulted. In consequence of this new movement, rica, China, Persia, Turkey, Malaya, India, and since Pearl rbor, the Dutch East Indies, have been systematically exploited. rance annexed Algiers in 1847, Tunis in 1881, Madagascar in 85, and established "spheres of influence" in Morocco, Indo-China n Syria in the latter part of the Nineteenth and early Twentieth ce uries. Similarly, Italy occupied Somaliland, Eritrea, Tripoli,

Dalmatia, Istira, and Ethiopia.[32] In 1882 the German Kolonialverein was founded and within three years, the colonial empire of Germany embracing more than 1,000,000 square miles of territory and including German East Africa, German Southwest Africa, the Bismarck Achipeligo and portions of Samoa and New Guinea had been founded.[33] England acquired Cape Colony in 1815, occupied Egypt in 1882, annexed Trans-vaal and Orange Free State in 1902, and established mandates and "spheres of influence" in East Africa, China, Persia, Palestine, Iraq and Arabia since the World War. The Spanish American War resulted in the cession of Guam, Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands to the United States. Later American interests in the Caribbean, intensified by the building of the Panama Canal, led Congress to authorize the establishment of veiled protectorates in Haiti, Santo-Domingo, Cuba and Nicaragua and finally in 1917 to purchase the Virgin Islands.

Nationalism and Militarism. The new economic imperialism and the grandiose schemes of the totalitarian states have enhanced the possibilities of war by encouraging militaristic programs. In every industrialized national state there are economic backers of militarism. How, they argue, can national rights be guarded, national interests promoted and national honor vindicated without militarism? While no European wars of importance were fought during the four decades which intervened between the Treaty of Berlin (1878) and the Balkan Wars (1912), it was a period of intense and growing nervousness. The peace which the world enjoyed, was an armed peace for all the great states of Europe were engaged in providing armaments to be used later against one another, and in training their citizens for war. This rapid growth of military armament during the period since 1870 led to increased jealousy and suspicion among the nations and in self defense to the forming of dangerous alliances which in turn precipitated war.

It is obvious, of course, that militarism, in its most extreme form, has featured the modern dictatorships in Germany, Italy, Russia and Japan, and has accounted largely for the success of their aggressions. Note the position of Hitler on this point: "One must be quite clear about the fact that the regaining of the lost regions will not come about through solemn appeals to the dear Lord or through pious hopes in a League of Nations,—but only by force of arms."[34] Three months after the Fuhrer's rise to power, the traveler through Germany could see in school play yards, tots of four or five with sticks on their shoulders, going through military evolutions at the command of a drill master. Austria, in the days following Anchluss, was patrolled by boys of upper grammar and high school age. They were armed with rifles and drawn bayonets. The present Japanese conquests, as already noted, were effected through a militaristic government, headed by the brilliant Kwangtung Clique

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[32] Nothing remains today of the Italian Empire except the Dodecanese and a few other islands of the Aegean.

[33] Germany lost her colonial possessions as a result of the Great World War, 1914-1918.

[34] *Mein Kampf*, 912; see also pages 383-384.

On the other hand, the lack of preparedness on the part of the less aggressive, peace loving democracies, together with the collapse of the League of Nations, forced the opposition into a fatal policy of appeasement and thus accelerated the belligerency of the dictators.

Nationalism and Tolerance. Finally, exaggerative nationalism breeds intolerance. In Germany, England and the United States, anti-Catholicism has always been popular with the extreme nationalists. This is because the Catholic Church, as an organization is international in scope, not national. Referring to the problem in America, Professor Mencklin, while admitting that opposition to the Catholics is due in part to petty jealousy and fear of the power and prestige of the Church at Rome, to the reputed clannishness of the Catholics, and to the alleged opposition of that sect to the public school system, contends that the fundamental reason for anti-Catholic propaganda is the disturbed feeling that "the center of authority of the Roman Catholic Church as opposed to Protestantism, lies outside and superior to American society."[35] In England, anti-Catholicism has found repeated expression in penal laws of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries, the Gordon Riots, and many "no popery" demonstrations; in the United States in the political platforms of the Know Nothing Party and the Ku Klux Klan, and in the opposition to the candidacy of Alfred E. Smith for the Presidency in 1928, and in Nineteenth Century Germany in Bismarck's legislative war, known as the Kulturkampf.

In modern Germany, the Nazi conception of German racial superiority naturally propagates of system of intolerance, directed especially against Catholics and Jews within Germany, but against all other non-German groups in the occupied areas. To the query, why should the superiority of the Aryan race be so important, Hitler gives the answer in this vitally significant passage: "The race must be maintained in a position of superiority because it is the only foundation on which superiority can be conceded to the leaders and exemplars of that race. Men are divided into rulers and ruled because only so can the ends of aristocracy rooted in nature be served: organization for racial improvement, and organization for racial aggrandizement".[36]

Since Hitler's rise to power, a cold pogrom against the Catholics has gone steadily on. Thousands of nuns have been dismissed from schools and hospitals. Diocesan seminaries have been closed and theological faculties abolished. Catholic funds have been confiscated. All Catholic colleges have been refused recognition and the right to receive new students. Thousands of convents and monasteries in Austria and Germany have been closed.

Most vigorous, however, has been the persecution directed against the unfortunate Jew. After Hitler's rise to power, public officials of non-Aryan descent were promptly dismissed unless they were appointed before the World War or had served at the front

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[35] Mencklin, *The Ku Klux Klan*, 158.

[36] *Mein Kampf*, 581.

in it or had fathers or sons killed in the conflict. Subject to similar exceptions, the number of Jews in law, medicine and other professions was limited. From journalism, the Jews were excluded entirely. A racial quota principle was applied in the universities. Jewish musicians and actors were removed from the stage and eminent Jewish scientists from hospitals and universities. No quota was applied in commerce and Jewish business firms continued, but the popular prejudice against them, drove them to ruin. In despair of making a livelihood, over 70,000 Jews left the country within the first two years of Hitler's dictatorship and hundreds committed suicide. Countless others have been sent to concentration camps. The Nazi, like the Fascist and the Bolshevists, have confiscated the property and imprisoned the families of those who have succeeded in escaping from the country if they dared "to defame" it when abroad. Thus, Albert Einstein, the eminent Jewish mathematician, was condemned to exile and his property confiscated in Germany because when in America he had dared to criticize the Jewish persecutions. How the rest of the world felt about this incident is shown by the fact that almost immediately thereafter, Einstein was showered with civic or university honors in Belgium, Spain, France, Great Britain, and the United States. Nazi mobs have made a specialty of bonfires of radical "decadent" or "non-Aryan" books.

Hitler appears to glory in this unchristian persecution. "If, with the help of the Marxian Creed, the Jews conquer the nations of the world", he says in one of his many tirades against them, 'his crown will become the funeral wreath of humanity, and once again this planet, empty of mankind, will move through the ether as it did thousands of years ago. Eternal nature inexorably revenges the transgression of her laws. Therefore I believe that I am acting in the sense of the Almighty Creator: *By warding off the Jews, I am fighting for the Lord's Work*".[37]

Nationalism and World Peace. In summary, modern nationalism, although admittedly a factor conducive to national and political unity and solidarity, has become a shibboleth for vaulting racial pride, repulsive national arrogance and dangerous, aggressive state egotism. It has evolved the totalitarian system and with it the enslavement of the masses in the interests of state glorification. It has become an effective stimulant for bitter racial animosity, burdensome militarism and disastrous national wars. Finally, the Balance of Alliance System which has arisen because of it has not prevented wars; rather it has produced chaos and plunged the world into a state of international anarchy. As Professor Hayes so clearly puts it: 'An intolerable attitude and behavior toward one's fellows; a belief in the imperial mission of one's own nationality at the expense of backward peoples; a habit of carrying a chip on one's national shoulder and defying another nationality to knock it off; a fond dwelling on the memory of past wars and a feverish preparing for future wars, to the neglect of present civil problems; a willingness t

[37] *Mein Kampf*, 83-84.

be led and guided by self-styled patriots; . . . a spirit of exclusiveness and narrowness which feeds on gross ignorance of others and inordinate pride in one's self and one's nationality: these are the too prevalent aspects of contemporary nationalism. If in these respects, nationalism is not mitigated it will be an unqualified curse to future generations".[38]

A New World Order: The New Nationalism

The Need for Collective Security. A radical change is necessary. The isolated self-constituted, independent state has gone forever. Our concept in the future must be global, not national. Military alliances, power politics and the system of buffer states is not the way to achieve permanent peace. Nor is isolationism. In the past Russia, China, Great Britain and the United States have relied in varying degrees upon policies of detachment and aloofness, yet all have found themselves eventually engulfed in war. Indeed, if there is to be durable peace, international anarchy, the chaotic system of the past, must be superseded by international co-operation and understanding envisaged in some kind of program of collective security. The enunciation of this principle is the most vital and gratifying of the achievements of the recent but now historic Moscow Conference.

There can be no peace unless there is understanding. First and foremost, therefore, we need extended education. We must not close or throttle the schools, the press, or the radio. We must teach truth, not propaganda. History must be taught objectively and realistically and with due regard to all people.

A New World Order. While it is not the purpose of the writer to examine in detail the probable peace plans of the future, he seems it advisable in concluding this paper to indicate some of the factors pertinent to the establishment of a durable peace.

We need, first of all, a dynamic program and organization of international understanding, co-operation and collective responsibility. Such a program should provide a general organization, perhaps similar to the League of Nations, for the maintenance of its purposes; an arrangement for assemblies and conferences of the various powers; agencies for arbitration in cases of controversy and for international law-making; bureaus for collaboration in such fields as commerce and communication, finance, industry, and labor; and commissions to study the problems of backward civilizations, health and nutrition, artistic and educational interchange. Above all, there should be created under the auspices of such an organization, an international police force whose function will be the prevention of any and all attempts to initiate war. Under no circumstances in the future, must a nation be permitted to take the law in its own hands, and if it should do so, it must find arrayed against it the organized community of nations, which will at once see in its acts of violence

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[38] Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism*, 269.

an attack upon the principles of law and order and therefore an attack upon each member of the community individually.

Paralleling and in part duplicating the work of any proposed international federation, certain regional organizations might be properly founded and recognized. Such societies might be of particular service in the classification and simplification particularly of the problem of economic security through careful promotion, direction and regulation of regional tariffs, interstate commerce, communication and transportation. Among such regions might be grouped the Danubian area, the Near East, the British Commonwealth of Nations, the Soviet Union, the Balkan Peninsula, the Pan-American Union, the South Pacific area and the Far East. Each of these regions should have considerable autonomy in the development of its own institutions, each should have primary responsibility for maintaining order and facilitating political changes within the regions, subject always of course, to the competence of the universal organization. The leadership for the over-all program suggested above unquestionably must be assumed by the four great powers of the allied forces, Russia, China, Great Britain and the United States.

The Four Freedoms, as announced by President Roosevelt and dramatized anew in the Conference of the North Atltantic,—Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Worship, Freedom from Tyranny, and Freedom from Want are the war aims of the people of the United States. If the dignity of the individual in society is to replace the glorification of the state as the end of established governments there is no reason why these freedoms should not constitute an ultimate criteria of purpose for all nations. At least an approach to the democratic ideal will go far to eliminate the danger which arises from excessive nationalism and misdirected dictatorship. That fine New England thinker, Thoreau, uttered a profound truth when he said "There never will be a really free and enlightened State until the State comes to recognize the individual as a higher and independent power from which all its own power and authority are derived".

In the world of tomorrow nations must have an assurance of economic security. This problem might reasonably be solved through (1) access to world's markets and materials through peaceful exchange; (2) reasonable economic stability for the disastrous booms and depressions which follow war and imperil the peace between nations; and (3) a co-ordinate international program of economic development. Of grave significance, too, is the problem of unemployment. Whatever its causes, unemployment is not primarily an economic phenomenon, but first and foremost a political and social problem. The unemployed person has no function in this economic life. His existence is an irrational, incomprehensible one for society; and society itself loses all meaning to him. Men who long have been out of work in desperation turn to panaceas and foolish programs that have little appeal for the man with a steady job. It is significant that Hitler seized the government of Germany when unemployment in that country reached its peak, one man out of three. If democracies are to survive, they must find a permanent way for full employment, and a way to give their citizens a *sen*

of function, of *belonging to the community.* In this total war, we are achieving both; after the war the process must go on. The most important goal for America is not a full quota of goods, in fact it is not any material thing at all; it is rather the achievement of better citizenship through the simple avenues of work, education and accepted responsibility.

Permanent peace will depend upon the realization of social security by all members of society. A contented nation is apt to be a peaceful one. This security should embrace the minimum needs requisite for a decent living and include the following: adequate food, clothing, shelter, health and education. When one realizes that even in the United States where standards of living are noticeably higher than those of the countries of Europe and Asia that 50% of those rejected during the first year of the Selective Draft (1941) were rejected because of poor health, chiefly malnutrition; that a recent survey of the Department of Agriculture disclosed that at least 2,000,000 farmhouses were unfit for human habitation and that the average value of farm dwellings in Arkansas, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and Georgia was less than $500; that during an average year 225,000 American women give birth to children without the help of a doctor; that of the 75,000 stillbirths a year, medical experts estimate that 30,000 could be saved by better medical attention; that each year 100,000 Americans die from pneumonia and 62,000 from tuberculosis; that before Jan. 1, 1943, more than 250,000 men had been rejected by the Draft because of illiteracy and low mentality, and that of these the largest group were neither aliens nor Negroes, but native whites; and that of all Americans twenty-five years of age or over, almost 60% have never gone beyond grade school, more than 13% have never gone beyond fourth grade and almost 4% have never gone to school at all; in fine, when one realizes that these deplorable conditions are in our very midst,[39] the evident need for such a program of social betterment becomes strikingly clear.

When the war is over, the same energies which have been expended so magnificently and heroically toward the winning of the war must be expended toward the winning of the peace through the inauguration of an ambitious and dynamic program of economic and social regeneration. The drive for tanks must become a drive for houses. The drive for food to keep the enemy from starving must become a drive for food to satisfy the needs of all peoples in all countries. The drive for physical fitness in the forces must become a drive for the elimination of sickness and disease everywhere. The drive for manpower in war must become a drive for employment to make freedom from want a living reality.

Democracy and World Peace. Finally, democracy as an ideal should be popularized among all nations for it is the belief of the writer that the democratic system is the only one that can adequately

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[39] See Stuart Chase, *Goals for America* (1942) for a dynamic discussion of this subject.

guarantee that political, economic and social justice, so essential and necessary for a peaceful and contented world. It is a significant, and to those of us who believe in the democratic state, an encouraging fact that dictators have arisen only in those countries where monarchies had existed before the war. Democracy, in contrast to totalitarianism, dignifies the individual; it makes his happiness, not the glorification of the state, the end of government. That is why modern dictators decry the democratic ideal. The Nazi revolution be it noted is a revolution against democracy; its aims are its destruction. It seeks the extermination of those elements which constitute the foundation of civilization; Christianity, the dignity of the individual, tolerance, Justice and truth are equally imperilled; the use of reason is marked for obliteration. Founded upon a philosophy of violence, the movement glorifies war as the highest activity of mankind.

Against this universal menace of totalitarianism, democracy will have to assert itself vigorously. It must prove itself a practical and a beneficial way of life. And says Alan Nevins: "Democracy can prove that it gives far more to the average man than the great slave states can ever give. It can show that it furnishes employments, dignities, satisfactions and enthusiasms which no totalitarian nation can furnish. Democracy enables men to feel their own worth. It gives them scope for the use of their talents in the family, the church, the political party, the professional group, not shutting them within prisons of an iron-bound party. It nourishes the arts, while totalitarianism has driven writers, painters and musicians into foreign lands, making Germany a cultural desert. It glorifies peace, not war; morality, not amorality; kindliness, not brutality".[40] Indeed, if mankind has a future, that future rests with democracy. This is a positive fact which must ever be kept before those who accept all too unthinkingly the immeasurable benefits of the democratic system.

[40] Alan Nevins, "Facing the Nazi Revolution," in the *Readers Digest*, August 1940.

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